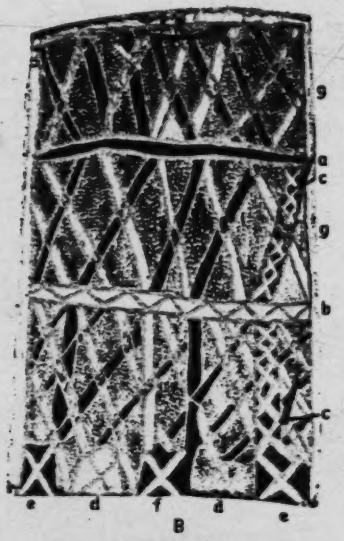
2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958

OI20 Tiwi OI20

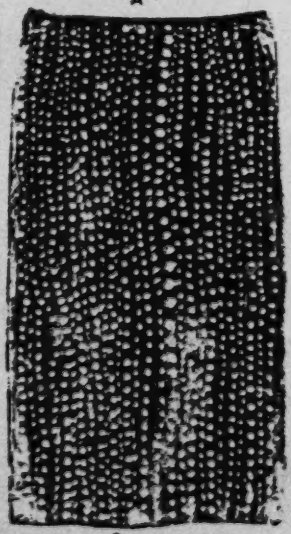
X532
133
137

A

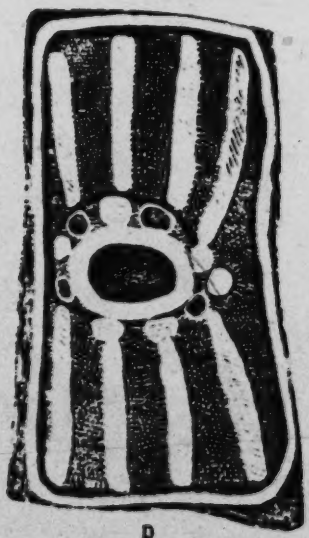


B

[136]
[302]



C



D

PLATE 50. *Secular Bark Paintings*

A, Sea-floor; B, Mangrove Swamp; C, Fish-man, Kumunga; D, Topography, Bathurst Island.

Cp. 160 B]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

×532
133
●136
137

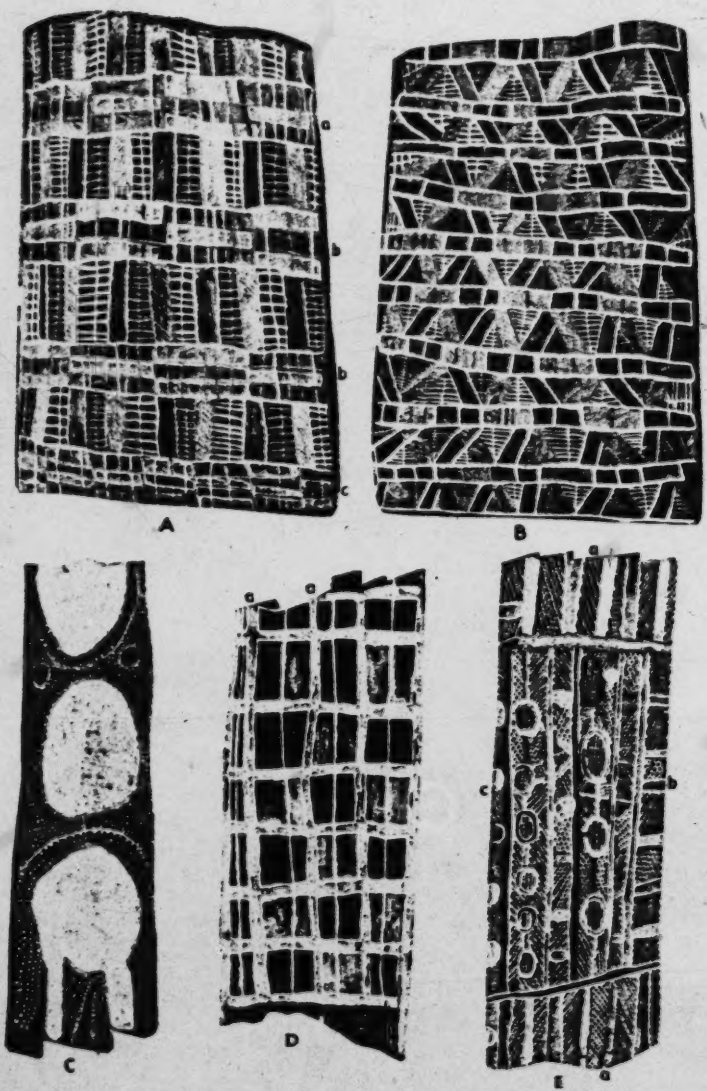


PLATE 52. *Secular Bark Paintings*
A, B, Sea-coast, Cape Van Diemen; C, Lagoons and Swamps; D, The Sea-shore; E, Jungle Scene.

[p. 160 D]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958

OI20 Tiwi OI20

532x
133
137
[136]

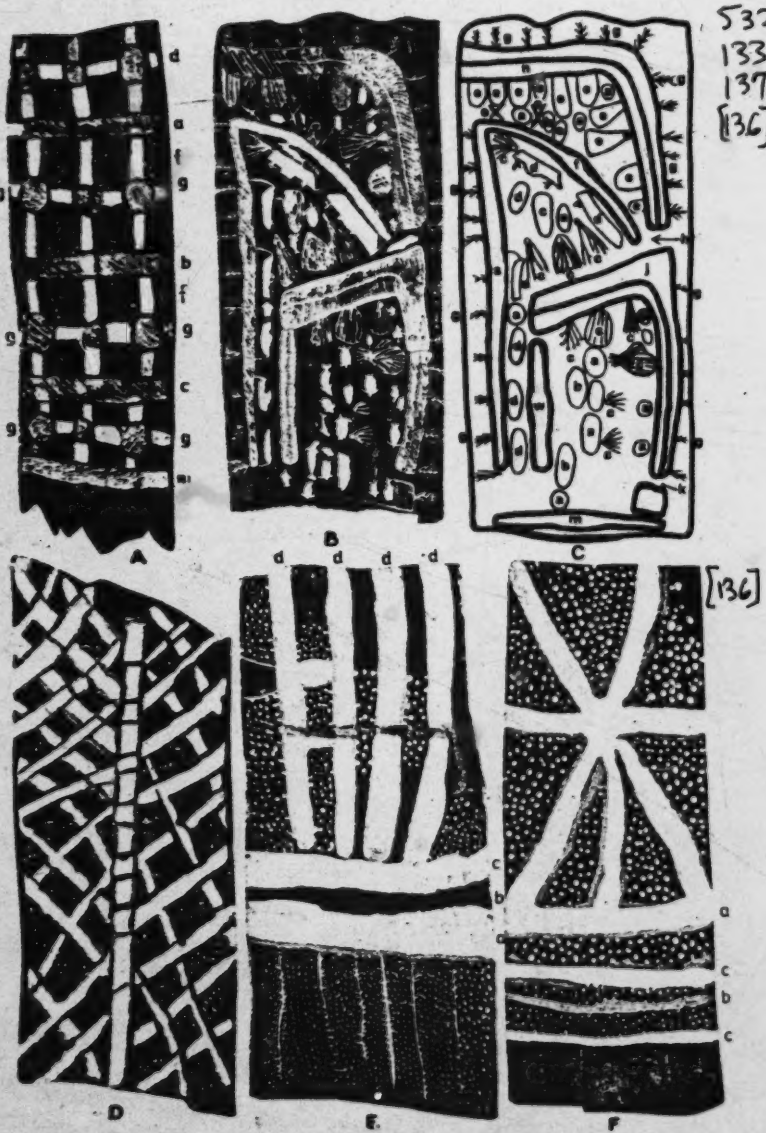


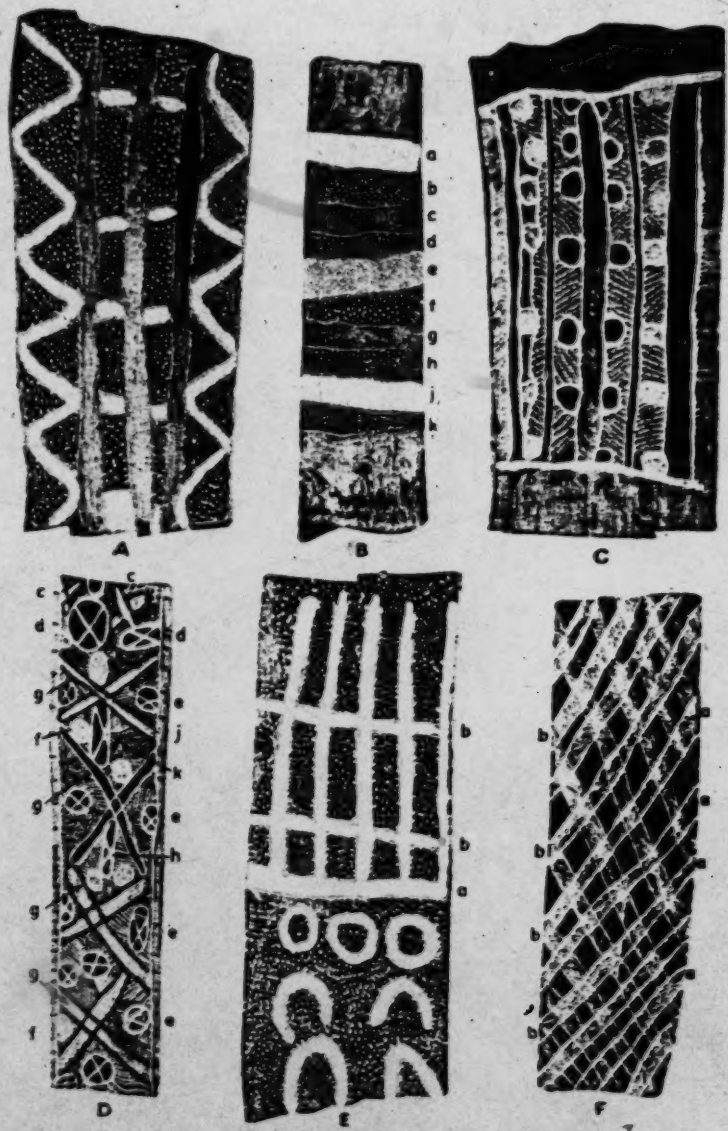
PLATE 53. *Secular Bark Paintings*

A, Forest, Curtis Haven; B, C, Topography, Snake Bay; D, Fresh and Salt-water Streams; E, Topography, Goose Creek; F, Sea-scape.

[p. 160 E]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

×532
137
●136



[821]

PLATE 54. *Secular Bark Paintings*
A, Maratji, Goose Creek; B, Sea-shore; C, Sea and Sea-coast; D, Marine Creatures; E, Topography, Snake Bay; F, Jungle.

[p. 160 F]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

532x
136●

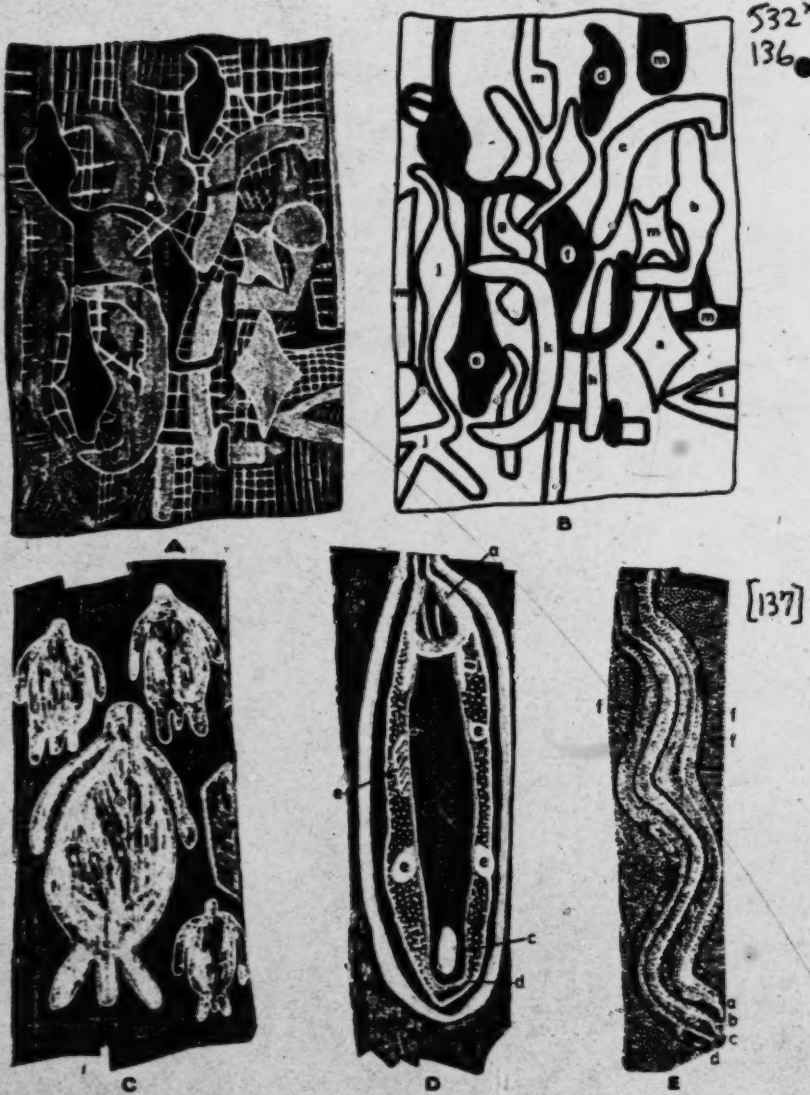


PLATE 55. *Secular Bark Paintings*
A, B, Sea and Shore Creatures; C, Sea-going Turtles; D, Barramundi; E, Sea-snakes.

[p. 160 G]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

X532
136

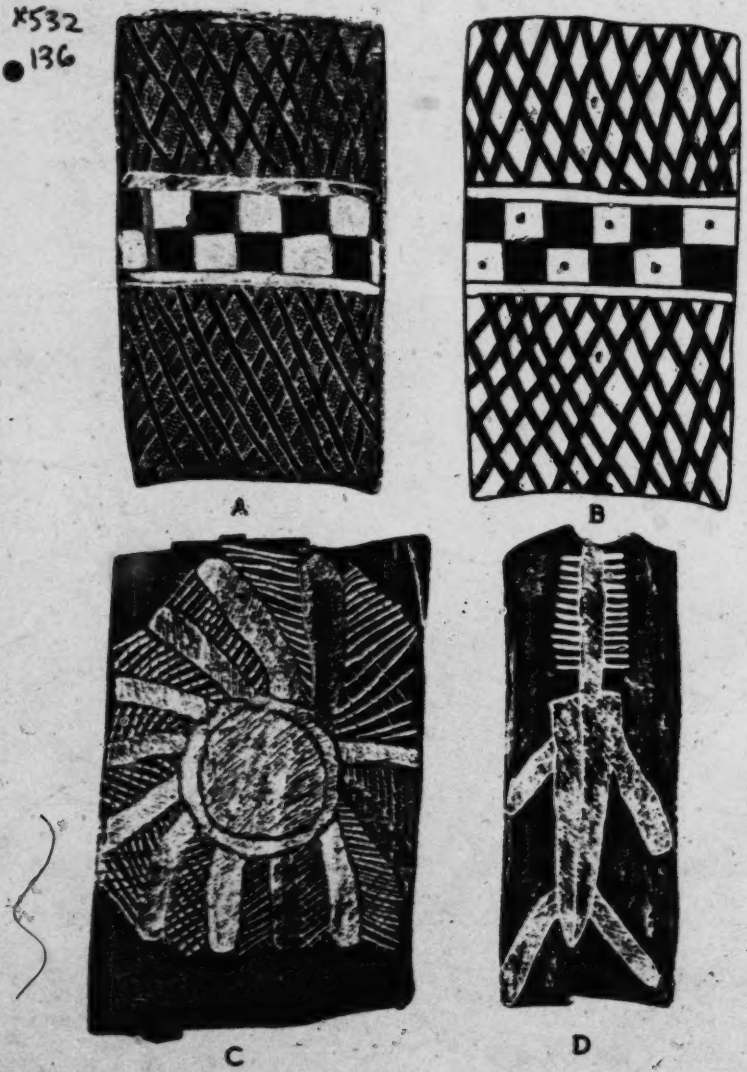


PLATE 56. *Secular Bark Paintings*
A, B, Creatures of the Sea; C, Jelly-fish; D, Saw-fish.

Cp. 160 H]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

532×
136●
137

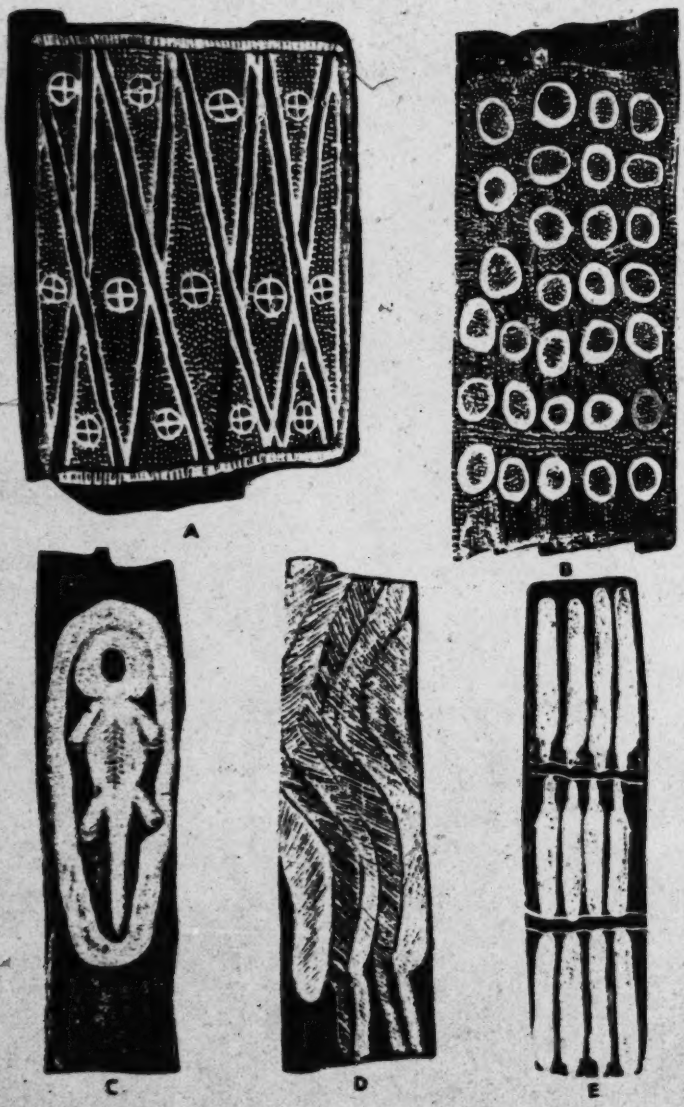


PLATE 57. *Secular Bark Paintings*
A, Edible Fruits; B, Poisonous Yams; C, Goanna; D, Sea-snakes; E, Sponges.

Cp. 160 I]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

X532 of wild honey in the hollow trees, and the dots, the red and black seeds of a jungle vine.
133
137 On the lower panel, *s*, *s*, etc., indicate another forest of eucalyptus trees; the two rows of five circles at *p*, *p*, hives of wild bees, the cross-hatched panels between them spider webs, and the dots, the red and black seeds.

Biru Creek

Pl. 53B refers to a water-course, Biru, near the Goose Creek swamps, which is fresh in the southern and salt in the northern section, where it enters the sea.

The white panel *a*, is the saltwater end of Biru Creek, which is near the entrance of the Goose Creek swamps (Fig. 1), and the white band *c*, the freshwater end of the same creek. The black band *b*, is its banks. Panels *d*, *d*, etc., are white patches of sand and the dots, on the upper panel, patches of water-grass on the floor of the swamp. The bottom panel represents the open sea, the dots indicating patches of seaweed on the bottom.

Snake Bay

Pl. 53B, C, deals with the topography of Snake Bay.

Karslake Island (Wulrungku) is shown at *m*, on the lower edge; a sandbar (upper), the home of the spirit dogs, the *Wankuis* (p. 154) is at *f*; Iluwara inlet, in the Curtis Haven, is at *h* (middle right); a beach on the opposite shore of Iluwara inlet is at *j*, and Tjipripu Point at *w* (lower left). The long vertical line *s*, on the left, is Banjo beach, on which we camped; and *k* (lower right), a mangrove creek to the east.

Designs *e*, *e*, etc. (upper right), are mangrove trees growing on Karslake Island, and crosses, *o*, *o* (upper left), dead trees on the shore. Basket sponges, growing on rocks at the sea-bottom, are indicated at *c*, *c*, etc. (centre).
[136] Turtles are at *a*, *a*, etc.; dugongs at *b*, *b*, etc., and canoes at *d*, *d*, etc. Many casuarina trees, *g*, *g*, etc., grow along the shore lines.

Lagoons and Swamps

This simple bark painting, Pl. 52C, pictures the lagoons at the rear of the expedition camp.

The upper white semi-circle is the swamp, immediately behind our camp, in which there are many paper-bark trees (*Melaleuca* sp.); the white dots are water-lilies growing in the swamp. The central white oval indicates an open lagoon from which the water runs into the sea.

The lower design indicates a swamp further inland, which is fed by two

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

freshwater streams (projections on the lower edge). The dots around this design are also water-lilies. 532x 133 137

Western Bathurst Island

Pl. 52D illustrates a hill, Ipiṭjulimpi, on western Bathurst Island.

The central black oval is Ipiṭjulimpi Hill, and the white outline, the tall annual grass which grows at its base. The circle of small discs are groups of boulders on the sides of the hill. The eight long ovals on the upper and lower sections of the paintings, are cabbage palms; the white outer border symbolises red cliffs near by, and, the dots, the grass on the hillside.

2. THE SEA AND THE SWAMP-LANDS

The Sea and Sea-shore

Three bark paintings, Pl. 54C, Pl. 53F, and Pl. 52D, deal with the sea and the sea-shore.

Pl. 54C refers to the sea and the sea-coast. The outer plain vertical panels symbolise the white sand on the sea-shore, and the outer black panels, hatches of sea-weed. The light-coloured ovals are rocks under the water, covered with the sea-weed, and the black ovals are reefs of dark-coloured rocks on the bottom, which shelter the parrot fish and the rock cod. The cross-hatching indicates the white sand on the bottom of the ocean.

Pl. 53F depicts in a simple manner, the sea and the beach.

The intersecting lines on the upper panel represent an octopus, the dots, throughout the painting, small stones on the floor of the ocean; *a*, indicates the waves breaking on the beach; *b*, is a salt-water creek, and *c*, *c*, are its banks. [136]

Pl. 52D is a bark painting of the sea. The horizontal bars symbolise the waves breaking on the beach; the black rectangles, the dark-coloured stones, and the lighter-coloured rectangles, the red stones exposed at low water. The five vertical bands such as *a*, *a*, indicate the lines of debris, left by the retreating tide.

The Ocean Floor

Pl. 50A pictures the floor of the ocean. The light and dark coloured discs throughout the painting are boulders on the bottom, black projections on the dark-coloured discs, pearl-shell oysters, and those on the lighter discs, star-fish. The dots indicate the sea-sand. [136]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
QI20 Tiwi QI20

A Salt-water Creek

×532 133 Pl. 53D pictures a salt-water creek, Tunangabupi, which flows into the sea at north-eastern Melville Island.

The central panel is the Tunangabupi creek, the rectangles along it alternately representing sandbanks and outcrops of rocks in its bed. The lines forming the diamond patterns, indicate a series of freshwater streams which flow into the Tunangabupi Creek, and the white dots, the shrubs growing on their banks.

A Mangrove Swamp

Pl. 50B depicts a mangrove swamp at Cape Fourcroy.

Transverse band *a*, is a dry creek bed whose waters run into the swamp during the wet season, and *b*, a salt-water creek among the mangroves. The lines of diamond-like patterns at *c*, *c*, indicate a muddy salt-water creek, and the crossed designs *d*, *d*, muddy patches among the trees. At *e*, *e*, are fallen trees with mud on their roots, and *f*, is a large tree with its roots exposed. The intersecting lines in panels, *g*, *g*, indicate a forest of mangrove trees, and the dotted background, edible mangrove fruit lying on the ground.

The Sea-coast at Cape Van Diemen

Both sides of a large *pukamuni* basket, Pl. 52A and Pl. 52B, picture the sea-coast adjacent to Imilu, at Cape Van Diemen, north-western Melville Island.

The horizontal lines, *a*, on Pl. 52A, the obverse side of the basket, indicate the grass and fallen leaves on the sea-shore; the two bands, *b*, *b*, represent the sharp eroded rocks on the water's edge, and the lower band, *c*, weeds growing on the rocks under the water.

Throughout the design, the darker-coloured barred rectangles, with white [136] lines, are black trepang, and those with grey lines, white trepang. The plain rectangles indicate the sandy bed of the ocean.

On Pl. 52B, the reverse side of the same *pukamuni* basket, the series of transverse bands picture flat rocks on the edge of the sea, and the barred triangles, the water surging through them. The high cliffs at Imilu, Cape Van Dieman, are indicated by the many v-shaped designs.

The Sea and Mangrove Creeks

Pl. 54B is a particularly simple design which the artist once used to decorate a *pukamuni* pole.

The plain panels at the top and bottom of the paintings, represent the open sea; the transverse panels, *a*, *c*, *e*, *g*, *j*, refer to the salt-water creeks in the man-

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

grove swamps, and the dotted panels, *b*, *d*, *f*, *h*, and *k*, to the seaweed growing on the sea-bottom. 532X

3. THE FAUNA

The Sea-Creatures

Two bark paintings, 55A, B, and 56A, B, depict the creatures who live on the floor of the ocean. 532X 136●

On Pl. 55A, B, design *a*, represents a shark; design *b*, and *f*, are large sea-snakes; *e*, is a smaller species, and *g*, another snake that lives in the mangrove swamps. At *c*, is a saw-fish; at *d*, a porpoise, and at *h*, a sea-slug or *beche-de-mer*. Designs, *m*, *m*, etc., are shells; and *l*, boulders on the sea-bottom; *k*, is a creek in the mangrove swamp, and *j*, a sandbank in Snake Bay.

Pl. 56A, B, also deals with the creatures of the sea. In the central section panels *a*, *a*, are star-fish; panel *b*, refers to an octopus; *c*, to pearl-shell oysters; *d*, to a crab, and *e*, to a turtle. The cross-hatching, throughout the design, is symbolical of the scale pattern on a crocodile skin, and the two transverse white bands are the creature's intestines.

The Snakes

Two bark paintings, Pl. 57D and Pl. 55E, depict the snakes of Melville and Bathurst Islands.

Pl. 57D pictures, in conventionalized form, a number of sea-snakes, some of which were poisonous and much feared.

Pl. 55E illustrates a number of snakes that live in the forest and jungle adjacent to the expedition.

Reading from the right, *a*, is the venomous bush snake, *jaruwini*; *b*, a copper-coloured non-venomous snake, *ilinga*; *c*, a venomous snake, *buliaringa*, that lives in the mangrove swamps, and *d*, a harmless water-snake, *patinga*. The short, more or less horizontal lines at *f*, *f*, are tall eucalypts in the forest and the dots, the grass at their base. [137]

A Goanna

Pl. 57C is a simple X-ray bark painting of a goanna, on which the backbone and ribs are indicated. This is the only example of that curious art form which I saw on Melville Island, although on the adjacent mainland, the X-ray art has reached its highest development.[88] [171]

The Sea-going Turtle

Pl. 55C pictures the sea-going turtles. The central design represents the

[88] Mountford, 1956, p. 256.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

X 532 136

large logger-head turtle, *Ringa*, whose totemic place is at Jutapinta, north of Karslake Island (see Pl. 12c).

In the lower right is a young logger-head, and in the upper left, a hawk-bill turtle, *Garagalani*, which when a woman, assisted in the *pukamuni* of *Purukupali*.

On the upper right of the painting is a green turtle and on the right-hand edge, a canoe which the aborigines had used to capture the turtles.

A Barramundi

This bark painting, Pl. 55D, pictures a barramundi, *alaminga*, a large fish which lives in either fresh or salt water.

The fish, *c*, is shown within the inner white oval. Its head is at *a*, its eyes being the two short lines within *a*; its tail is at *d*, and its fins at *e*, *e*, *e*, *e*. The dots represent the marks on its skin.

The outer oval is made up of red, white, yellow and black lines. Reading from the outside, the red oval indicates the land; the white, the sandy beach; the yellow, the breaking waves, and the black, the open sea.

A Jelly-fish

Pl. 56C illustrates an unidentified jelly-fish, *indringa*. The central disc is the body; the radiating lines, the tentacles, and the cross-hatched areas the ocean.

A Saw-fish, Jidati

Pl. 56D is a simple, representational bark painting of the saw-fish, *jidati*, in which the saw of the creature is given special prominence and the fins are shown as legs.

Sea Sponges

Pl. 57E pictures a number of sponges growing on the floor of the ocean. Although sea sponges do not appear to have any specific value to the aborigines, they are often pictured in the bark paintings.

4. THE FLORA

X 532 137

Edible Jungle Fruits

Pl. 57A illustrates a number of edible fruits that grow in the jungle and the forest.

The crosses surrounded by a circle, represent the fruits of two different eugenias. They are about the size of an apple; one, a red fruit, is called *binamia*, and the other, a white fruit, *taurarnina*.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

X 532 137

branches in full blossom. The dots at the base of the painting indicate eucalyptus blossoms lying on the ground.

A Forest, Curtis Haven

Pl. 53A illustrates the topography at Curtis Haven.

Transverse panel *a*, is a stringy-bark tree,[83] *b*, *c*, are two woolly-butts and *m*, is an ironwood. The short white panels at *f*, *f*, are cycad palms; the lines of circles at *g*, *g*, *g*, low hills, and the short white panels between them, cabbage palms. The cross-hatching indicates the grass on the hillsides.

5. MISCELLANEOUS AND UNIDENTIFIED

X 532 304

Body Scars

Pl. 58A refers to the chevron scars on the bodies of the older men and women; it has no other meaning.

The four white vertical lines indicate the scars on their legs; the many transverse lines, those across the abdomens, and the lines of dark and light-coloured chevron designs, the scars on the abdomens, backs, upper arms, and thighs.[84]

The Salmon-man

X 532 302

At the *pukamuni* of *Purukupali*, a salmon-man painted himself and his many wives with a series of large spots like those on the basket; when at the completion of the ceremony, those people became fish, they still retained the coloured spots on their bodies. The dots on Pl. 50C are symbolical of those on the body of the mythical salmon-man.

Design for a Pukamuni Pole

X 532 ● 136

Pl. 54D is a similar design to one which the artist once painted on a *pukamuni* pole he made for the dead man, *Kulatina*. The designs,[85] which are not linked with any myth or secular story, were, according to the artist, formed in his mind by the sound of the waves breaking on a nearby coast.

The four groups of crossed lines, *g*, *g*, etc., represent trepang, the lighter coloured being the white and the darker, the black species. The smaller

[83] These are species of eucalypts.

[84] The older generation of Melville and Bathurst Islanders were decorated with these scars. The custom has been discontinued in recent years. Spencer, 1928, Fig. 439, illustrates examples.

[85] Spencer, 1928, Fig. 475, illustrates poles decorated with a design similar to bark paintings, Pl. 54D.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

groups of crossed lines at *c*, *c*, are two stingrays; *d*, *d*, etc., are two dolphins; the darker crossed discs, *e*, *e*, and similar patterns, stones on the beach, and the lighter, such as *f*, *f*, etc., freshwater cockles. There is an unidentified salt-water fish at *h* and a shark at *k*. 532 X 136 ●

Unidentified

I do not know the meanings of the designs on the bark paintings, Pl. 58D, nor those on the three *pukamuni* baskets, Pl. 59A, B, Pl. 59C, D, and Pl. 60C. 532 X

Two of the baskets, Pl. 59A, B, and Pl. 59C, D, were brought by the Bathurst Island group when they attended the *pukamuni* of *Waniamperi*.

3: Hart E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 OI20 Tiwi OI20

not only in physique but also in intelligence. I should be surprised to find in any other Australian tribe a man with the intelligence and adaptability of my own head boy Mariano.

The flora and fauna of the two islands is very similar to that of the rest of the Northern Territory. The country is mostly flat with a low range of rocky hills between Cape Gambier and Cape Keith on Melville Island, and a still lower range in the centre of Bathurst. The timber consists of the usual Australian trees; gums, stringy-bark, woolly-butt, bloodwood and ironwood cover most of the two islands, broken here and there by patches of open grassland and in other places by dense patches of jungle where snakes and "devils" thrive and the natives seldom enter. Wallabies are extraordinarily plentiful, but there are no kangaroos. Buffaloes are found on Melville in small numbers. These are the wild descendants of the domestic Indian buffaloes imported for agricultural purposes by the early settlers at Fort Dundas. At one time they had increased and multiplied to such effect that thousands were shot every year without any appreciable effect upon their numbers. At the present time, however, probably owing to many of the cows being killed, there are probably not more than a thousand on the island. The natives are seldom able to kill a buffalo though they realise the fact that it is good to eat.

Not only are wallabies plentiful, but there is also an abundant supply of the other native articles of food, fish, crocodile, birds of all kinds, wild honey, yams and other native vegetables. As a result of this abundance of foods, it would seem that the two islands had a greater density of population than is to be found in almost any other part of Australia.

LOCAL ORGANIZATION

The people inhabiting Melville and Bathurst Islands are subdivided into a number of local groups. These local groups are the important sections of the population since they act as land-owning groups, war-making groups, have a solidarity of their own which is far stronger than any tribal solidarity that may exist and even to some extent regulate marriage.

Before considering these hordes in detail, however, something must be said about the tribal name. All the hordes practise the same customs, speak the same language and inter-marry. The boundaries of the people speaking this language are of course strictly defined by the sea. In other words, the people of Melville and Bathurst have a solidarity of their own,

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

411 the mainland. In the first place no spears are manufactured for projecting by other method than simply by hand. No spear-throwers, so much in evidence [101] among all true Australian tribes, are in use on these islands. Yet light spears were observed which really marked the beginning of the development of the arrow. 411 524 These were seen to be used by youths at play and during their sham fights. Light green sticks, a little over a metre in length and slightly more than a lead pencil's thickness, are cut and scraped to a simple point at one end. The opposite end, that is, the back- or hand-end, is next put to the mouth and split with the teeth along its fibres into several strips some 10 centimetres long. The split pieces are then bent outwards like the feathers of an arrow and the toy weapon is ready for use. It can be hurled by hand with astounding precision. The opponents evade the missiles by dodging and crouching and contorting their bodies in much the same clever manner as I have described[1] of the Larrekiya and Wogait tribes.

411 Strictly speaking, one type of spear prevails. It is made of a single piece of solid wood, straightened to a greater or less degree over a fire. It is barbed at the front end and tapers to a simple point behind. The extreme variations in length and, consequently, in weight also, of this spear attract the attention at first sight. It is nothing unusual to find spears measuring 450 centimetres in length and weighing 2,700 grammes, but at the same time the smaller specimens measure only 250 centimetres in length and weigh 370 grammes. When we consider that a fair average length of the Northern Territory spear is 300 centimetres and a good average weight 260 grammes, the maxima of the islanders' spears quoted seem very remarkable indeed. The more do these appeal to us since the largest species [136] of the indigenous fauna is but a fair-sized wallaby. Crocodiles are comparatively scarce, and the buffalo, introduced from Timor by Captain Barlow, first commandant of Fort Dundas, in 1826, is practically unknown on Bathurst Island. On Melville Island, where similar spears are in use, the buffalo is very plentiful, but it is a singular fact that the natives do not hunt this beast to any considerable extent.

The head of the spear has many barbs carved on one side and, occasionally, on two diametrically opposite sides. There are usually from ten to thirty barbs, which are directed backwards (*vide* Plate IX, Fig. 5 (Series)). Behind these there may or may not be from four to eight small serrations that stand out at right angles to the length of the shaft. In other cases, too, some six or more barbs are cut at the back part of the spear-head pointing the opposite way, that is, in the direction the spear is thrown. The spear heads have a long point resembling a cutting-blade or spike. The barbs are symmetrically carved with sharp edges and point. They are flattish lancet-shaped, with a central ridge on the outside, and project from the head to various degrees of prominence in different specimens. Many of the spears are longitudinally grooved with an adze, either for the whole of their length or along the head-end only. They are occasionally coloured and decorated with ochre, some

[1] *Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Australia*, vol. xxxi, 1907, p. 33.

6: Hart E-5 (1928-1930) 1954 0120 Tiwi 0120

leads to the situation—quite foreign to our way of thought and also apparently to that of Polynesian cultures—whereby a young bachelor can prowl around the bush all night without arousing the slightest interest but his daytime wanderings, ostensibly in search of game, are watched by his married seniors with the deepest suspicion.

[9] The buffalo, which are confined to Melville Island, are the wild descendants of domestic East Asian water buffalo which were imported during an early attempt at settlement.

[9] It is perhaps not without interest that one of Tip's jokes is imperishably preserved in the files of the Peabody Museum at Harvard. Tip was in Darwin in 1927 when W. Lloyd Warner was collecting at the Native Compound the anthropometric measurements which were afterwards analyzed by W. W. Howells (1937), and like all other natives in town from many tribes he and a number of Tiwi were measured by Warner. On the card for each subject Warner wished to record the personal name of the native. Led by Tip, all the Tiwi measured bestowed upon themselves the most obscene "native name" they could think of, and years later Tip would shout with laughter when telling how Warner faithfully recorded these obscenities, often repeating them several times to make sure of the correct pronunciation.

[10] This set of sentiments surrounding Tip's wife also gives a little more insight into the sex activities of Louis. His reluctance to move in on her, because of the way "the old men would feel," while showing no such reluctance to move in on Mrs. Bob, supports the view implied above that Louis, while sex dominated, was no fool in his amours. He had an intelligent and realistic appreciation of just how much he could get away with.

[11] I use this slang term deliberately, since it expresses somewhat the Tiwi attitude toward those young bachelors who go about seducing the wives of their elders and betters.

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9:Harney & Elkin E-4, 5 (ca.1940)1943 O120 Tiwi O120

MELVILLE AND BATHURST ISLANDERS: A SHORT DESCRIPTION

By W. E. Harney and A. P. Elkin[1]

133 *Type of Country.* These islands are fairly large, measuring together about 150 miles from east to west and about 50 miles across the widest part. It is flat country composed of lateritic overburden covering a chalky and, in some places, a green stone full of fossils (Ammonites, Belemites, etc.). At one time it was probably connected with the mainland, and the Apsley Strait which separates the two islands was in those days a continuation of the Adelaide River.

137 The timber is mostly stringybark, bloodwood, and fan palm, while along the shores is the usual jungle growth that can be found in these parts. Wallabies and
136 other game are also present, but no porcupine (echidna), native cat or emu. Dingoes
231 are plentiful. This is the reason for the natives having few dogs. The tame dog
825 (*wongine*), while out hunting alone, is often destroyed by these dingoes, *diamini*. According to the natives, the dingoes do this because they are annoyed with the native dogs for taking some of their food. They (the *diamini*) are the rightful owners and the dog is an intruder.

142 *The Natives.* The natives of these islands, all of whom speak one language, are an unusual type. Curly hair predominates, but occasionally we find a straight-
304 haired and a curly haired person in the same family. The cicatrices on their bodies
757 are of the palm leaf pattern, though the straight lines of the mainland people may often be seen. They bear numerous small cuts on their foreheads and various parts of the body, caused by the practice of blood-letting as a cure for sickness.

101 *Tribal Name.* The tribal name of these people is an open question. At one time Mr. Harney called them Nimara, their word for language or talk. They have a word, Tunawini, one black man, but this term can embrace people of other tribes; it comes from the words *tiwi*, men (Hart's name for these natives, *Oceania*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 167), *tini*, man, *tiya*, woman. They have, however, a term Worunguwe, which embraces them all—clans, horde places, people—and excludes other tribes such as Iwaidja, Larrakia, etc. The Iwaidja people call the Melville Island natives by that name, and Mr. Harney suggests that we should use it. Hart's term is not really a tribal name for it simply means people. Father McGrath suggests a name

[114] [1] Mr. W. E. Harney is the exceptional layman who understands Aboriginal culture. For a number of years he and I have been collaborating in the study of a number of Aboriginal tribes of the Northern Territory. This article is a brief summary of information gathered by Mr. Harney while engaged in work on Melville and Bathurst Islands. It has been checked, discussed with Mr. Harney, and rewritten by myself. For some parts of this paper readers are advised to refer to the following articles by C. W. M. Hart: "The Tiwi of Melville and Bathurst Islands," *Oceania*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 167-180, and "Personal Names Amongst the Tiwi," *Oceania*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 80-90.—A. P. Elkin.

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Fig. 7. Agnes (left) and a friend admire a large mangrove crab

together with sharks, these waters contain the large and dangerous salt-water crocodile and all manner of poisonous jellyfish, one realizes that to swim around in a high sea in the pitch dark requires considerable courage. 123

Soon after we had crawled under the mosquito netting and between the blankets rain began to fall in a gentle and persistent way, but still not hard enough to prevent our falling asleep with little conversation.

It was hardly light the next morning when Agnes stood up and rewrapped her *saga*, a strip of calico, about her waist, then took up the billys and went to the well to draw water for the morning tea. Although the rain had been steady during the night, the well-built fire still had some life in it and after a few minutes of concentrated blowing, Albert had it rejuvenated. While the billy boiled, Big Jack shook as much of the wet sand as was possible from the blankets and rolled them into tight bundles. Then he set off to retrieve the canoe. By the time he reappeared, the tea was ready and it helped to wash down the leathery cold strips of damper sweetened with jam. [291] [372]

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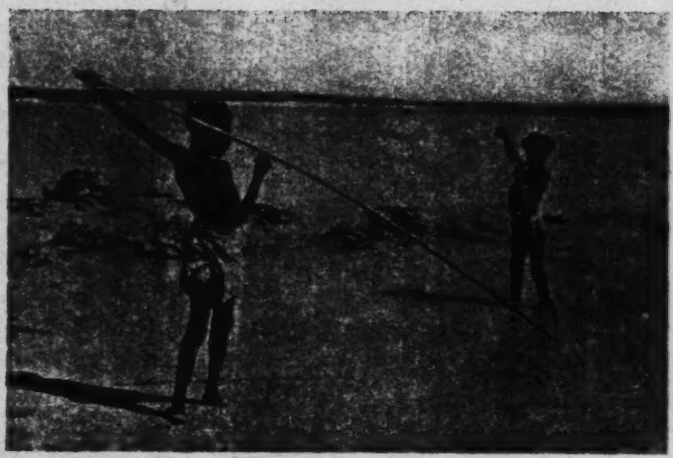

Fig. 9. Two young hunters practicing with fish-spears

123 the impenetrable jungle, which were attributed to the *Ningawi*, the
[776] weird and mysterious "little people" of the mangrove. Rounding a curve in the river, we surprised a flock of whistle ducks sitting on an exposed mudbank. Young Billy tried to shoot one for supper but missed, and soon they were well out of range. On a rare piece of solid ground we saw the long tail and massive hips of a startled
[136] wallaby as he hopped to safety. However, a successful throw of the fish-spear brought us a large barramundi, and the .22 rifle provided both a possum and a fruit bat, or flying fox, for supper.

All of a sudden the mangroves disappeared and our view was
[137] no longer restricted to the river bank; rather we gazed through thick, gnarled white paperbarks on the water's edge to wide expanses of marshy grasslands. A few flocks of black and white geese, which had returned to the swamps early in the evening, were startled by the sound of the motor and rose honking in fright.

About five, we reached Minianapi, a landing place about fifteen yards wide, where solid ground reached the river bank. We were

12:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1957 O120 Tiwi O120

under the surface by the massive roots of the paperbarks. It was in just this sort of pool that the largest of the five crocs landed that night, was harpooned. The huge 18-foot animal dived into the roots and it took about twenty tense minutes to dislodge and dispatch him. Aside from the crocodiles the only wild life seen that night was a small and very frightened little mouse who suddenly appeared on my lap and then just as suddenly disappeared over the boat's side.

We returned to Minianapi at daybreak and the hot tea and roast goose seemed a perfect breakfast, or was it supper? It didn't matter for we were soon sound asleep.

When we finally awoke in mid-afternoon we found the camp almost deserted. "Everyone go walkabout; kill geese," Albert informed us as he and Agnes gathered more wood to build up the smouldering fire. It was very quiet in the small clearing and only the little black spots of charcoal spaced in irregular intervals on the ground were evidence that there were more than our mob in residence. The clearing itself was quite bare because it had been burned by the first comers, with the double purpose of clearing out the four-foot grass itself, and any of the various poisonous snakes which were quite likely to infest it. In back of the clearing was a thick tangle of low bushes through which ran a little foot-path. Agnes started down this path carrying a billy can and I offered to go with her, but Albert said, "No, by um by we go, him long way, him only get a little bit now." After one gets used to the pronoun "him" being used to refer to everything animal, vegetable, and mineral, this phrase is perfectly understandable: the first "him" referred to the water, the second to Agnes.

So instead of collecting water, I wandered down to the river bank where Billy-Two, Brownie, and a few of the other men, were busy skinning the crocodiles. This they did by cutting the skin first around the head, then down either side of the rows of bumps running along the spine to the tail. The skin was then carefully peeled and cut from the body. Once free it was rubbed with salt which would act as a preservative until such time as the supply boat would arrive to carry it to Darwin. There the skins would be sold to the dealer and the proceeds credited to the hunter's account or sent in the form of hard cash to the settlement for distribution. Now they were folded into bundles and loaded into the launch, and large

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Fig. 10. Skinning a large crocodile

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pieces of the white meat were carried into the camp to be roasted for dinner. What was not to be consumed that night was thrown into the water, for meat spoils quickly in this sticky climate.

Darkness came early, and with it came the return of the goose hunters and the departure of the launch with the Grimsters and their crocodile team. Once more they would spend the night hunting crocodiles, this time downstream on their way back to the settlement. Soon many little fires broke up the darkness of the clearing and the smell of fresh roasting meat wafted over to where Albert, Agnes, Jack, and I were opening cans of corned beef. "Tomorrow we go bush," Albert remarked and I heartily assented.

Young Brook, a lean young man, and his wife, Alice,

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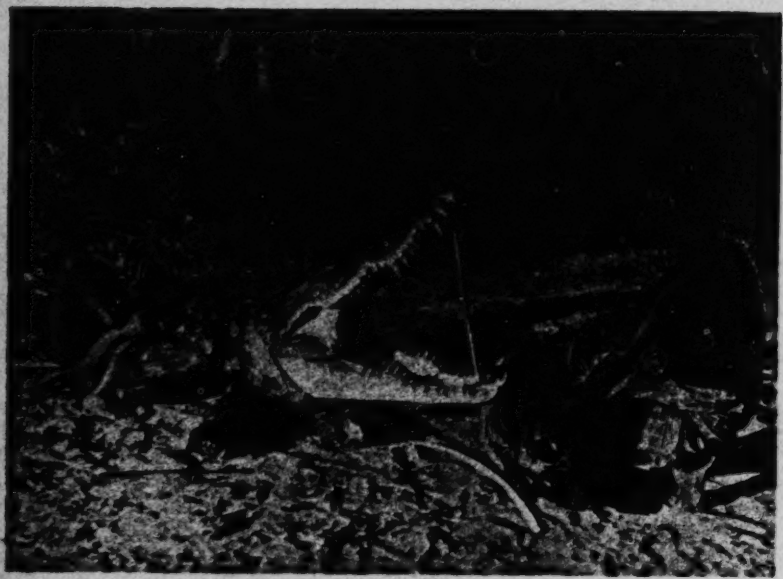

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Fig. 11. Even the youngest respect the teeth of the crocodile

approached our fire. "You savey goose?" he asked me. "Oh yes," I said, "we eat him along America." He handed me a large juicy leg which I gave to Albert to divide, then squatted down at the edge of the fire's glow. I handed my tin of tobacco to Alice and she filled her husband's pipe. Picking up a burning branch from the fire, she knocked a hot coal into the bowl of the pipe and began smoking. Soon she handed it to Young Brook. Suddenly our attention was directed to the opposite side of the clearing where Dennis, the four-year old daughter of Black Joe was crying hysterically. Tuki, a tall powerful man of fifty-five, was doing his best to calm her and disentangle himself from her clinging arms so that he could leave. Tuki and his wife, Fat Alice, were a childless couple and

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Fig. 20. Althea and Crissy-boy showing me the large snake which Filicy had killed

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262 cooked, with that delicious charcoal-broiled flavor so much sought after in our more elite dining establishments or in our backyards.

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224 Just as we had started our feast the other group arrived and soon had their fire started. Although no overt comparison of each other's catch was made, it was quite obvious that their hunt had been more successful. Besides the half dozen possums and two goanas, they brought over to show us an extremely large water [431] snake about ten or twelve feet long. Shortly, Filicy again came [513] over and presented us with one of their possums. After this tremendous feast, everyone stretched out and went to sleep, rousing only in time to arrive back at Minianapi in time to meet the geese.
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484 All the way back in the canoe, Crissy-boy played with two hairless baby possums, creating quite an uproar as he put them in everyone's hair where they clung with their tiny feet. They died before we reached the shore and were thrown into the water. Althea was
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13:Barclay J-3 (ca. 1939)1939 OI20 Tiwi OI20

out from East Point, and from the nearest island of the Vernon group, were also clearly visible as we passed over them. Straight ahead, Melville and Bathurst Islands now showed up, the hills a darker blue, and every moment they became more and more distinctly visible.

We turned west again as we reached the shores of Melville Island. Below, and near at hand, in turn were sandy beaches, cliffs that come straight down to the water's edge, or low mangrove-flats through which wind serpentine inlets of salt water. Inland, low green hills are covered with open tropical forest, denser on the lower slopes and thinning towards the arid, stony summits. Fan-palms grow among the tropical eucalypts, and the familiar pandanus palm borders open grassy flats just as it does on the mainland across the narrow seas. Buffalo, now so much reduced in numbers that nobody shoots them, feed on the flats, and in the forest-covered hills are many kangaroos and wallabies. Little bays, and now and then projecting lines of reef, make natural boat-harbours, and far away across the tree-tops a wide expanse of shining water seems to be a great lake surrounded by wooded hills—it is actually an arm of the sea on the eastern side of Cape Van Diemen.

The funnel-shaped entrance to Apsley Strait, the mile-wide, fifty-mile-long stretch of fast-flowing waterway that separates the two islands, soon appeared beneath us. Looking towards the north, on the eastern side of this narrow silvery passage, one sees the wooded hills, the dense patches of vivid green jungle, and the open swampy plains of Melville Island. To the west, on the Bathurst Island side of the entrance, dense plantations of coco-nut palms occupy the foreground. There are cleared fields with a wall of forest beside them, white roofs among the palms, and beyond again are thickly-timbered heights.

DENSE mangroves, of a deeper green than that of forest or jungle foliage, give contrast at the water's edge on either side of the narrow strait, which, a silver streak in the blue distance, leads on to the sea, faintly visible far beyond at the height at which we were flying. The tide runs through this strait like a mill-race; but at the moment it was dead-water, and, with sail set, a large dug-out canoe was making across from Melville to Bathurst Island. As the 'plane banked round preparatory to landing, I saw, beyond the canoe and across the strait, the iron roof of the only European dwelling on Melville Island.

It was formerly the permanent camp of Joe Cooper, a famous buffalo-hunter; but, now, since Cooper's death, even this solitary outpost has long been deserted. It is more than a century since the old military settlement of Fort Dundas, at the northern end of Apsley Strait, was abandoned. Nothing of the fort now remains except a few heaps of stone, and, buried in thick scrub, the grass-grown brickwork that faced the surrounding deep trench. The area of Melville Island is 2,240 square miles. Bathurst Island is only half as large. Although Melville Island may, some day, come within the scope of North Australian settlement schemes, the major part of Bathurst Island is vested in perpetuity in the authorities of the Mission of the Sacred Heart, and the latter island will remain, fortunately almost entirely in its virgin state, a sanctuary alike for man and beast.

We taxied to a standstill on the well-kept landing-ground of the Sacred Heart Mission in the presence of many spectators. Notified of the time of our arrival by means of the wireless

[P. 14(A)]